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A SKETCH OF THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE
NASS RIVER INDIANS

by

Edward Sapir

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Chief T. L. Derrick, of Aiyansh, Nass river.

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A Sketch of the Social Organization of the Nass River Indians.

By EDWARD SAPIR.

INTRODUCTION.

In February, 1915, a deputation of four Nass River Indians visited Ottawa on business connected with the Department of Indian Affairs. Through the kindness of Mr. D. C. Scott, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, their attention was drawn to the anthropological work of the Geological Survey and to the ethnological exhibits in its museum. Opportunity was thus gained, on February 18 and 19, for the writer to secure a sketch of some of the outlines of the social organization of the Nass River division of the Tsimshian stock, a sketch which is confessedly imperfect in many respects, but which may, for the present, contribute its share towards the comparative study of the problems of West Coast sociology.

The Indians constituting the deputation were:

(1.) Chief T. L. Derrick (see frontispiece), living at the village of Aiyansh ('a'ya'nc). He formerly lived at the village of *kitlaxta'mikc*, whence he moved to Aiyansh along with most of his tribesmen. He is 59 years of age and is the third chief by rank of the *kit'anw'likc* tribe. His present Indian name is *ke'xk'u*, one of the noble names of the *kitwil'na'ke'* clan, to which Chief Derrick belongs and of which he is head chief.

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His father was head chief of the *k̄tspo^udwɪ'də* phratry of the *k̄twaŋkci'lk^u* tribe. He is also known as *li'cimc*, a nickname going back to his child name. Despite his age, Chief Derrick has quite a good command of English, and this, combined with his great intelligence and evident knowledge of aboriginal social conditions among his people, made it possible to obtain a larger amount of material in a short time than is perhaps ordinarily feasible. He is responsible for practically all the data contained in this paper. He was assisted by the interpreter, Mr. Woods, only part of the time.

(2.) Chief W. J. Lincoln, living at the village of Kincolith (*k̄tɪŋo'l'ix*). He is about 40 years of age and is the youngest chief of the *k̄txatε^m* tribe. His Indian name is *qadaɣε^o'x*, one of the noble names of the *laxlo'kct'* clan, to which Chief Lincoln belongs.

(3.) Chief A. N. Calder, living at the village of Greenville (*laxqaltsa'p*). He is about 46 years of age and is the head chief of the *k̄tgiɣε^o'nɪx* tribe. His Indian name is *'nagwa'o^m* "long hand," one of the noble names of the *laxk̄ibo^o* or Wolf phratry, to which Chief Calder belongs.

(4.) Mr. R. S. Woods, living at Kincolith. He is about 22 years of age and belongs to the noble class of the *k̄txatε^m* tribe. His Indian name is *nɪxɟo'nt'*, one of the noble names of the *laxsgi'k'* or Eagle phratry, to which Mr. Woods belongs. Mr. Woods is only part Indian, his mother having been half-breed and his father white. He speaks perfect English and proved useful as interpreter.

I may say that the data here presented were obtained without any reference whatever to the material on Nass River social organization that Boas gives in his account of the tribe (Report of the 65th meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1895, pp. 569-583). Correspondences between his and my own data have, therefore, all the force of mutually corroborative evidence.

TRIBES AND VILLAGES.

The Tsimshian tribes of Nass river are known collectively as *nisqa*^a. Though held together by identity of language and common interest, they can hardly be said to form a political entity, each tribe being an independent unit and occupying its own village or villages. There are four of these tribes, occupying villages along the Nass in the following order, beginning with the mouth of the river:

(1.) *k̄itxatεⁿ* "people of (fish) traps," located at the mouth of the river. They occupy the two villages of *k̄inyo^li^x* "place of scalps", or Kincolith, and *laxqaltsa^p* "old village site" (literally "on the town"), or Greenville. The former village is said to be so named because the scalps of enemies used to be dried there.

(2.) *k̄itgigeⁿnix* "people further up stream" (from the point of view of the preceding tribe). Their village is named *lax^aanla^o* "mountain slide." They are considered the main tribe of the Nass River Indians.

(3.) *k̄itwankc^ltk^u* "people of home-of-lizards" (from *kc^ltk^u* "lizard"). They used to inhabit the old village of *k̄itwankc^ltk^u*, from which the tribe receives its name. At present they are located at *lax^ut^l 'yāⁿs* "under leaf", or Underleaf, a recently established village situated across the river from the old one.

(4.) *k̄it^aanwi^likc* "people moving regularly from and back to their home village." The name refers to their periodic descent to the mouth of the river to get olachen (*sā[·]k^l*), but no other fish. They occupy the two villages of *k̄itlax^la[·]am^likc* "village on ponds," or Gitlakdamix, and *'a^lyāⁿs* "leaves coming out," or Aiyansh. The latter is a new village (only about forty years old), to which most of the inhabitants of the tribe have moved over, few being left at the older village of *k̄itlax^la[·]am^likc*.

PHRATRIES, CLANS, AND CRESTS.

The Nass River Indians, like their southern neighbours, the Tsimshian proper, are divided into four exogamous phratries (*p^lε[·]ε[·]q^l*) with maternal descent, i.e., the crests and other privi-

leges descend from a man to his sister's son; one's predecessor in the holding of any title or right is thus not his father, but his maternal uncle. The phratries are the *laɣk̄i'bo'u* "on the wolf," generally referred to simply as Wolves (cf. *k̄i'bo'u* "wolf"); the *laɣs̄k̄i'k'* "on the eagle," generally referred to simply as Eagles (cf. *ɣc̄ḡä'k'* "eagle"; *ɣsḡi'k'* is the Tsimshian proper dialectic form); the *k̄i'spo'u'dwi'də*, a name of unknown meaning; and the *qana'da*, also of unknown meaning. The name *qana'da* was said by Chief Derrick to be derived from *qana'u* "frog," one of the crests of this phratry; it is more than likely, however, that this is merely a folk etymology to explain an otherwise meaningless term. The main crest of the Wolves is the wolf, of the Eagles the eagle, of the *k̄i'spo'u'dwi'də* (at least in part) the killer-whale (*'nɛ'q̄l*), of the *qana'da* the raven (*qa'q'*).

As far as present distribution is concerned, these phratries are found well scattered among the four Nass River tribes, though not all of them are represented in each tribe.¹ The Wolves are found in all four tribes, but they do not occupy the same rank in each; they are the head phratry among the *k̄it'anwi'l'kc*, *k̄itgiḡe'nix*, and *k̄itxate'n*, but the third and last among the *k̄itwanck'i'lk'u*. The Eagles are found represented in three of the tribes, being absent among the *k̄itgiḡe'nix*. The *k̄i'spo'u'dwi'də* phratry again is absent among the *k̄itgiḡe'nix*, but represented in the other three tribes. The *qana'da* phratry, finally, is found to be lacking among the *k̄itwanck'i'lk'u* only. The relative importance of a phratry seems to depend on the number of members it counts.

The phratries are subdivided into smaller groups that may be termed clans or, perhaps preferably, families. The Indian term for these subdivisions is *wil'nätä'l*, though the more inclusive term *p'te'q'* seems also to be used to apply to them; *wil'nätä'l* may be translated as "being together with one another" (cf. Tsimshian reduplicated *na-tälta'l* "company"), i.e. "group of kinsmen dwelling together." The clans have their definite order of rank within the phratry of a particular tribe and are characterized by the ownership of special crests, legends, songs,

¹It is quite likely, as Mr. Barbeau points out, that the facts of distribution as given in this paper apply only to the nobles.

individual names, houses, hunting and fishing territories, and numerous other inheritable privileges. On the whole, a clan seems to be confined to a single tribe, though there are cases of a single clan name being represented in two distinct tribes. Thus, the *ḵispo^udwi^{də}* clan of both the *ḵitwankci^lk^u* and *ḵit'anwi^lk^c* bears the name of *ḵisqä^ustⁱ*, though the crests, as far as they were obtained, do not correspond at all; the main crest of this clan among the *ḵitwankci^lk^u* is the killer-whale, among the *ḵit'anwi^lk^c* the moon. In other words, rank and privileges can not be safely predicated of either phratry or clan (insofar as covered by a name of more than unilocal distribution), but must always be studied with reference to a particular tribe or, what amounts to the same thing, village.

While each of the four phratries, as we have seen, has its characteristic or head crest, it does not at all follow that this crest figures as the main crest of each of its clans. Thus, among six Nass River clans belonging to the Wolf phratry, only two possess the wolf as their main crest (in one of these, moreover, this crest has the special name of "wolves moving about"); in two others the wolf occurs as one of the crests, but not as the main crest, this position being occupied by the "son of black bear" and "white grizzly" respectively; in the two other families, finally, the wolf is apparently not owned as crest at all, the main crest in each of these being the "black-bear prince." Similar conditions prevail with reference to the other phratries. The ascription of a single definite main crest to each of the phratries must, therefore, not be understood inclusively. However, there seems to be no doubt that some connexion is recognized between the member of a phratry and his phratric crest or crests, even in cases where it is not looked upon as one of the specific crests of his clan. Thus, while the *ḵitwi^lnä^uḵi^l* clan of the *ḵit'anwi^lk^c* tribe, the second clan in rank of the Wolf phratry as represented in the tribe, does not possess the right to use the wolf as a real crest, it nevertheless can show it in a potlatch "for fun," as it is their phratric emblem; the point is that they may not use the wolf crest to increase their prestige, as by the giving away of property in connexion with it. Chief Derrick went on to say that any member of the Wolf phratry could use both wolf and

black-bear as ordinary crests, but as specific "high" crests only insofar as his clan had the definite privilege of using one or both of them. The right to use a crest can be transmitted only within the limits of matrilinear inheritance. However, it is sometimes customary among the Nass River Indians for a chief to lend his main crest to be shown at his son's potlatch, without his son thereby securing the right to the regular use of the crest. There is also a tendency to reserve the use of the most important crest or crests to the head chief and his titular successor, the other members of the clan being permitted to use only the minor crests. Thus, among the *ḵitwil'näḵt'*, the second family of the Wolf phratry of the *ḵit'anwɪ'l'kc*, the two main crests, the "prince black-bear" and the *lo'ayo'q'* crest, were reserved, as far as representation at potlatches was concerned, for the chief (Chief Derrick himself) and his chief sororal nephew, while the minor crests of the family, such as the "underground people," "doorkeepers," and "stone platform," could be used either by himself or his inferiors of the same family. It goes without saying that a special crest of a family can not be used by a member of another family of the same or another phratry, even if the latter is superior in rank. According to Mr. Woods, one cannot even pay a neighbour a visit and wear a garment decorated with a minor crest without justifying the use of such regalia by the expenditure of property at the house visited. In view of these circumstances I think it may be more proper to speak of an individual having the right to use a crest than owning a crest. The latter terminology implies, or may be taken to imply, a mystico-religious relation between the individual and the crest-being, an implication which it seems safest to avoid. Connected with the attitude of jealous respect towards the crest is the custom of not showing more than one crest at a single potlatch.

There seems to be a marked tendency for each clan to show its crests in some more or less definitely circumscribed concrete form, different from that in which the same crests are exhibited by other families. In quite a number of cases this tendency is reflected in the formal name of the crest, the name of the crest animal being modified by some descriptive epithet. Thus, as we have already seen, the wolf crest occurs also in the special form

of "wolves moving about," the black-bear crest also as "black-bear prince" (the epithet "prince" is found also with other crests, e.g., "killer-whale prince" and "mountain-goat prince," and seems to indicate that the crest as used by the particular family stands higher in rank than the simple unqualified crest of other families) and "son of black-bear." In many cases the modified crest name indicates clearly the type of ceremonial object shown as a representation of the crest. Thus, we not only have the eagle crest, but also "stone eagle," "wooden eagle," "abelone-covered eagle," and "eagle garment." Similarly, the raven crest appears also in the special forms of "abelone-covered raven" and "two ravens," the mountain-goat crest also as "mountain-goat hat." It is significant to note that while the mountain-goat is primarily a *k̄ispo^udwɛdə* crest, the special "mountain-goat hat" was given as one of the crests of a *qana'da* clan. The tendency towards a concrete interpretation of the crest idea comes out still more strongly in the case of crests which refer not to animals or celestial bodies but to peculiar ceremonial objects connected with legends. Thus, one of the crests of an Eagle clan is a ceremonial ladle bearing the name of "small coffin," and a Wolf clan has as one of its crests the "foolish grease-dish." There can be little doubt that crests of this type are of lesser age than the typical animal and celestial crests, as they seem in every case to be peculiar to special clans and thus to have arisen, on the whole, subsequently to the splitting up of larger groups into the present clans. It is not probable that historically they are strictly comparable to the more general crests; it seems quite likely that they are to be explained as a result of the ever-increasing tendency to identify the crest with a specific representation of it. Psychologically it is important that the same term, *ayu'k^us*, is applied to both types of crests, as well as to the privilege of using a distinctive house name.

We shall now give the ranking of phratries and families in each of the four tribes, beginning with the *k̄it'anwɛl'kɛ* and proceeding down stream, also the crests used by each family, so far as they have been ascertained. I can naturally not claim completeness in this outline of clans and crests and so would like to emphasize the caution that too much must not, in most

cases, be made of negative evidence. Chief Derrick did not in any case enumerate all the crests of a clan. This was due partly to forgetfulness, partly to the impossibility of doing more than skimming the surface in the short time at our disposal. The crests are given in the order in which Chief Derrick dictated them. This should not be taken to imply that the order indicated rigidly reflects their ranking, even assuming that a definite ranking of crests is obtainable. Nevertheless, I believe the order at least approximates to such a ranking, the less widely distributed crests generally coming last. At any rate, there was no doubt in Chief Derrick's mind as to which was the highest crest for any given clan.

(1.) CLANS AND CRESTS OF THE *k̄it'anwi'l'kc.*

The phratries, all four of which are here represented, with their clans, rank as follows:

- I. *laxk̄itbo'w* "on wolf." This is the head phratry of the tribe and is divided into three clans, ranking in the following order:
 1. *k̄itsq̄ansnä't* "people from *sq̄ansnä't*, home-of-berry-bushes"; *sq̄ansnä't* is the name of their former village. The head chief is *s̄kate'n*.
 2. *k̄itwil'nä-k̄it'* "all in one (though living in different houses)." The head chief is Chief Derrick.
 3. *k̄itwillu'ya'x* "people of hiding place."
- II. *laxsgi'k'* "on eagle." This also is subdivided into three clans, ranking in the following order:
 1. *səmlaxsgi'k'* "real *laxsgi'k'*," i.e. "foremost Eagles."
 2. *laxtsəme'l'x* "on beaver."
 3. *k̄itqane'qs* "people of ladders."
- III. *k̄itspo'dwi'də*, consisting of only one clan:
 1. *k̄itsq̄ä'st'* "people living among *hä'ct'*, certain green bushes."
- IV. *qana'da*, not further subdivided.

Chief Derrick gave the last two phratries in this order, but stated that they were alike in rank.

The crests of these clans are as follows:

I. Wolf phratry.

1. *ḱtsqansnä't* clan.

- a. *ḱtbo'w* "wolf." Main crest of this clan specifically, as well as general crest of the Wolf phratry.
- b. *cmäx* "black bear." This is the ordinary bear, not the "prince bear" of the second family of this phratry. The word *cmäx* is probably identical with Tsimshian *sa'mi*, which, according to Boas, means "meat," but is also used as plural for *ol* "black-bear." The proper term for black bear in Nass River is 'ol.
- c. *haiḱelaxa'* "something to poke (or stab) the sky with" (properly *ha-ḱel-lax-ha'*, cf. Tsimshian *ḡat* "to spear").¹ This is a long ceremonial staff that is shown in potlaches; there are songs that go with it.

2. *ḱitwil'nä-ḱe'* clan.

- a. *lko'w:l'kciikum cmäx* "prince black-bear." Main crest of the family. When shown as a crest, the eyes and ears of the bear are inlaid with abalone.
- b. *lo'ayo'q'* "controlling the law (of seating at potlatches)," literally perhaps "where-in is law, custom" (cf. Tsimshian *aya'wux* "law, custom"). This term refers to the skull-like mask, representing the head chief of the ghosts, worn by a man at the door whose business it is to usher

¹Tsimshian forms are taken from F. Boas, *Tsimshian Texts (New Series)*, Publications of American Ethnological Society, vol. III, 1912, vocabulary (pp. 254-284).

guests to their proper seats at the potlatch given by the host to show this crest. The masked usher represents the mythical head chief of the ghosts who, according to the family legend accounting for the origin of the crest, gave power to the family ancestor. Chief Derrick explained that his own right to use the *lo'ayo'qs* crest is due to the fact that his legendary ancestor took the skull-mask away from the one who first had it, i.e. the ghost. This crest is evidently identical with Boas' *lo'ayo'qs* "the commanders," given, however, as a Nass River *kspo'dwi'da* crest.¹

- c. *kädəmc'ä'x* "underground people." This crest is shown in the form of a wooden carving of a man (*kädə m γa'n* "wooden man").
- d. *ktlw'ce'l* "doorkeepers." This crest has no song or story connected with it. When a potlatch is given, the man showing it erects two posts outside of the house (they do not constitute regular totem poles or *p'tsä'n*).
- e. *tä'qamlö'öp* "platform of stone."

3. *ktwillö'ya'x* clan.

- a. *lγcmktbo'u* "great number of wolves moving about," literally perhaps "wolves moving into the house through the smoke-hole." When this crest is shown in a potlatch, the members of the host's family come out wearing wolf skins.
- b. *'a'xqω'də m hatse'egwa'a* "foolish greasedish." This refers to a ceremonial dish which, at a potlatch, would be shown to the invited chief to eat out of.

¹ See F. Boas, *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, p. 327.

- c. 'änywçkɛ't "roasting a man." In exhibiting this crest at a potlatch they used to put a stick through a slave and roast him. This practice refers to a legend according to which a Tsimshian chief was once taken captive to the *kɛ't'anwɛ'l'kɛ* and so treated because he was in the habit of ill-treating his wife, a princess of the Wolf phratry of the *kɛ't'anwɛ'l'kɛ*.

II. Eagle phratry.

1. *səmlaxsgɪ'k'* clan.

- a. *xçgä'gɪm lɔ'ɔp* "stone eagle," the main crest of the clan. The crest name refers to a small stone eagle found ages ago, according to the legend, in the mountains.
- b. *kɛ't'bil'xu*, a supernatural being living under the water.
- c. *dolts səm'w'gɪt* "vagina chief." This refers to a ceremonial dish shown at potlatches, that was carved into the shape of a vagina.

2. *laxtsəme'l'x* clan.

- a. *lɔ'pɛ* "humpbacked whale," the main crest.
- b. *tsəme'l'x* "beaver."

3. *kɛ'tqanɛ'qs* clan.

- a. *mä'c hä't* "white marten," the main crest.
- b. *tsɛntɛ'k* "grey squirrel."
- c. *lgwɔ'ancı'ict* "small coffin." This refers to a large feast ladle in the shape of a coffin.

III. *ḡispo^udwidə* phratry.1. *ḡisqäst* clan.

- a. *lɔqs* "moon," the main crest. Note that though the killer-whale is the main crest of this phratry as a whole, it cannot be used by the *ḡispo^udwidə* of the *ḡit'anwi^lkc.*
- b. *pctäⁱ* "grouse."
- c. *haqⁱ* "wild goose."

IV. *qana'da* phratry.

- a. *qa^q* "raven," the main crest.
- b. *qana^u* "frog."
- c. *cw^q* "robin redbreast."

(2.) CLANS AND CRESTS OF THE *ḡitwankci^lkc^u*.

The phratries, only three of which are here represented, with their clans, rank as follows:

I. *ḡispo^udwidə*, the head phratry. The *ḡitwankci^lkc^u* are considered the main Nass River tribe for representatives of this phratry. According to Chief Derrick, it consists of only one clan:1. *ḡisqäst*.II. *laxsgi^k* "on eagle," consisting of two clans:

1. *laxlo^uktⁱ* "bundle of things."
2. *ḡitse^q* "in the bow."

III. *laxḡibv^u* "on wolf," consisting of a single clan:

1. *laxtⁱyw^ql.* This is said to be the name of a village in the "Flathead" country to the south, somewhere on the mainland about halfway between Nass river and the present city of Vancouver.

The *qana'da* phratry is not represented among the *ḡitwankci^lkc^u*.

The crests of these clans are:

I. *ḡispo^wdwidə* phratry.1. *ḡisqä'st'* clan.

- a. *lguwil'kciłgum 'ne'qł* "prince killer-whale," the main crest.
- b. *ḡutḡonu'kc* "owl."
- c. *məde'gəm tsa'aya'ḡs* "water grizzly".
- d. *'ni'qancg'* "bending over," referring to a ceremonial representation of the rainbow. *maxma'ai'*, the ordinary term for "rainbow," is a more common name of the crest.
- e. *lgowil'kciłgum mä't'ḡ* "prince mountain-goat."

II. Eagle phratry.

1. *laxlo^wḡct'* clan.

- a. *tagat'qada't'kut'* "man of the woods," a supernatural being who lives off by himself and flies in the air. This is the main crest of the family.
- b. *qä't'* "shark."
- c. *'anlo'lgum w'lp'* "bird's-nest house." This is the name of one of the houses of the village (see section on House Names), but it is at the same time considered a crest.
- d. *xcgä'gəm ḡa'n* "wooden eagle." The crest is represented as a pole surmounted by an eagle's head.
- e. *ctäxtxo'ḡ* "halibut on one side, half halibut."

2. *ḡilse^wq'* clan.

- a. *tsəme'l'ḡ* "beaver," the main crest.
- b. *xcgä'k'* "eagle."

III. Wolf phratry.

1. *laxti'yo'qł* clan.

- a. *ci'ha'wa'lk^w*, translated as "son of a black-bear," main crest. The term evidently

means, "new taboo, recently forbidden" (cf. Tsimshian *ha'wa'lk* "taboo"), and seems to be a periphrasis for another term which, for reasons of taboo, was not mentioned.

- b. *k̄tbu'w* "wolf." This crest was stated to be less important here than the *ci'ha'wa'lk*, though it gives the phratry its name.

(3.) CLANS AND CRESTS OF THE *k̄tgiḡe'n̄x̄*.

There are only two phratries represented in this tribe. These are, in the order of their rank:

- I. *laḡk̄tbu'w* "on wolf," which consists of only one clan:

1. *k̄tgiḡe'n̄x̄*.

- II. *qana'da*, which also is said not to be subdivided but to consist of one clan:

1. *qana'da*.

The Eagle and *k̄tspo'udwɪ'də* phratries would seem to be lacking. The crests of these clans are:

- I. Wolf phratry.

1. *k̄tgiḡe'n̄x̄* family.

- a. *lgo'wɪ'l̄kciḡum cmä'x̄* "prince black-bear," the main crest.
- b. *yw'p̄x̄*, a mythical water animal resembling an inflated balloon (*yw'p̄x̄* "to inhale"). When this crest is to be shown, a house is built with a door in the form of the opening and closing beak of the mythical animal.
- c. *n̄x̄c̄ k̄ä'lh̄o'dumq̄l̄* "mother of Not-quite-completed." This refers to a ceremonial feasting spoon, named after *n̄x̄c̄ k̄ä'lh̄o'dumq̄l̄*, a large mythological woman.

II. *qana'da* phratry.

- a. *qä'q'* "raven," the main crest. The full name of this crest here is *txabilä·dämγä'q'* "raven all covered with abelone" (cf. *bilä'* "abelone").
- b. *te'bin* "sea-lion."
- c. *qana'·u* "frog."
- d. *galxmä't'x* "mountain-goat hat," referring to a ceremonial hat worn during a potlatch.

(4.) CLANS AND CRESTS OF THE *kitxatε'n*.

All four phratries are represented in this tribe. They rank as follows:

- I. *laxkitbu'·u* "on wolf," which was stated not to be subdivided but to consist of only one clan.
 1. *laxkitbu'·u*.
- II. *laxcigi'·k'* "on eagle," which is subdivided into four clans, ranking as follows:
 1. *kitqabänä'·x'* "people dwelling among thorns."
 2. *laxlo'·u'kct'*.
 3. *kitlaxwusä'·x* "people living on a sand-bar."
 4. *kitcqa'ä'kc* "people living on water."
- III. *kitspo'·dwidä*, not subdivided into clans.
- IV. *qana'da*, not subdivided into clans.

The crests of these clans are as follows:

- I. Wolf phratry.
 - a. *mäkcgom lit'it'·incku* "white grizzly," the main crest.
 - b. *mäc 'o'* "white bear."
 - c. *kitbu'·u* "wolf."
- II. Eagle phratry.
 1. *kitqabänä'·x'* clan.
 - a. *ne'εqam qa't'* "shark with big dorsal fin," the main crest.

- b. *ʃcǵä'k'* "eagle."
 - c. *tsəme'l'ix* "beaver."
 - d. *lɔɔǵt'bil'ix* "rotten *ǵt'bil'ix*" (the *ǵt'bil'ix* is a supernatural being living under the water).
2. *laxlo'ukt'* clan.
- a. *tʃa'bilädəm ʃcǵä'k'* "eagle all covered with abelone," the main crest.
 - b. *'nax'nɔɔm tʃo'ʃ* "supernatural halibut halibut shaman."
 - c. *'səme'l'ix* "beaver." Its proper name here is *hetǵwutl tsəme'l'ix* "standing beaver."
 - d. *tǵo'w'l'kciǵum hauts* "prince shag."
 - e. *tʃabilädəm tsä''* "face all covered with abelone."
3. *kɪtlaxwusä'x* clan.
- a. *ʃcǵä'k'* "eagle" (i.e. plain eagle, not qualified in any way).
4. *kɪcǵä'ä'kc* clan.
- a. *kwe'cʃcǵä'k'* "eagle garment," referring to a ceremonial garment made of eagle skins.
 - b. *ʃǵa'nətl tsəme'l'ix* "beaver eating wood."

III. *kɪspo'dwɪ'də* phratry.

- a. *lɔɔc* "moon," the main crest.
- b. *pɪl'ct'* "stars."
- c. *kʷut'kʷunʊ'kc* "owl."
- d. *səyaiθa't'* "two men with the same intestines."
- e. *mäc wa'n* "white deer."
- f. *məxma'ai'* "rainbow."
- g. *tɪ'ai't'kʷ* "thunder."

IV. *qana'da* phratry.

- a. *gamä'ts* "star-fish,"¹ the main crest.

¹This was translated as "barnacle," but Mr. Barbeau informs me that it is obviously mistranslated for "star-fish," a *qana'da* crest.

- b. *tapxa'dəm ya'q'* "two ravens."
- c. *qana''u* "frog."
- d. *cilcä'lic* "bird-skin hat."
- e. *haq'łga'k'* "lance, spear."
- f. *lo'tse'täl 'amge''k'* "saw-bill duck spitting into."

(5.) DISTRIBUTION OF CRESTS.

The following tables conveniently summarize the preceding data. Each column is headed by a combination of numbers referring to one of the clans; the first (arabic) numeral refers to the numbered list of tribes (see page 3), the second (roman) to the phratry as ranked in the tribe, the third (arabic) to the clan within the phratry. Thus, the column headed 3. II. 2 contains the crests, so far as recorded, of the second clan of the second phratry of the third tribe, i.e. the crests of the *kilse''eq'* clan of the Eagle phratry of the *kilwankc'ik'u*. The occurrence of any one of the crests enumerated in the first column in a particular clan is indicated by a letter in its column corresponding to the order in which the crest occurs in the preceding outline. The main crest of a clan may be readily ascertained by reference to "a" in its column.

Summary of Wolf Crests.

Crest	4. I. 1	4. I. 2	4. I. 3	3. III	2. I	1. I	Total
Wolf.....	a	.....	.....	b	.....	c	3
Wolves moving about..	a	.....	.....	.....	1
Black-bear.....	b	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Prince black-bear.....	a	.....	.....	a	.....	2
"Son of black-bear".....	a	.....	.....	1
White grizzly.....	a	1
White bear.....	b	1
Underground people.....	c	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
yw'pɣ.....	b	.....	1
Sky-stabber.....	c	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
"Wherein-is-law" (ghost)	b	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Doorkeepers.....	d	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Stone platform.....	e	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Foolish grease-dish.....	b	.....	.....	.....	1
Roasting a man.....	c	.....	.....	.....	1
"Mother of Not-com- pleted" (grease dish).....	c	.....	1

Summary of Eagle Crests.

Crest	4. II. 1	4. II. 2	4. II. 3	3. II. 1 ¹	3. II. 2	1. II. 1	1. II. 2 ¹	1. II. 3	1. II. 4	Total
Eagle.....					b	b		a		3
Stone eagle.....	a									1
Wooden eagle.....				d						1
Abelone eagle.....							a			1
Eagle garment.....									a	1
Beaver.....		b			a	c				3
Standing beaver.....							c			1
Beaver eating wood.....									b	1
Humpbacked whale.....		a								1
White marten.....			a							1
Grey squirrel.....			b							1
Shark.....				b						1
Shark with big fin.....		a				a				1
(Halibut).....										1
Half-halibut.....										1
Halibut-shaman.....							b			1
Prince shag.....							d			1
gi'bitx ^u	b									1
Rotten gi'bitx ^u										1
"Man of the woods".....				a						1
Vagina chief (dish).....	c									1
Small coffin (ladle).....			c							1
Bird's nest house.....										1
Abelone-face.....										1

¹ These two clans are known by the same name, *laxlo-w'ket*.

Summary of kispo'dwi'da Crests.

Crest	4.III ¹	3.I ¹	1.III	Total
Moon.....	a		a	2
Stars.....			b	1
Rainbow.....			f	1
“Bending over”.....		d		1
Thunder.....			g	1
Grouse.....	b			1
Goose.....	c			1
Prince killer-whale.....		a		1
Owl.....		b	c	2
Prince mountain-goat.....		e		1
Water grizzly.....		c		1
White deer.....			e	1
Two men with same intestines.....			d	1

¹These two clans are known by the same name, *kisqā'st'*.

Summary of qana'da Crests.

Crest	4. IV	2. II	1. IV	Total
Raven.....	a			1
Abelone-raven.....		a		1
Two ravens.....			b	1
Frog.....	b	c	c	3
Robin redbreast.....	c			1
Sea-lion.....		b		1
Star-fish.....			a	1
Saw-bill duck spitting into.....			f	1
Mountain-goat hat.....		d		1
Bird-skin hat.....			d	1
Lance.....			e	1

These tables show the presence of a minimum of forty-eight distinct crests among the Nass River Indians; if we count special forms of the same crest as distinct crests, we obtain a total of sixty-three. Most of these occur in only one clan of a tribe; the only crests that are more widely distributed, so far as can be gathered from this material, being the wolf, black-bear, eagle, beaver, shark, halibut, *kɛ'bilx^u*, moon, rainbow, owl, raven, frog, and mountain-goat. As a matter of fact, however, the total number of crests represented among the Nass River tribes is undoubtedly several times as great as here indicated. Moreover, the failure of such well-known crests as the grizzly bear, water grizzly, and killer-whale to appear more than once is clearly due to the fragmentary character of our data. Each

of the crests, with the one exception already noted (the mountain-goat occurs both as a *k̄ispo^udwɪ'də* and *qana'da* crest) is restricted to a single phratry; the grizzly bear of the Wolf phratry is, of course, not the same being as the water grizzly of the *k̄ispo^udwɪ'də*.

There is no doubt that at least one reason for the appearance of the same crest in more than one clan is the fact that clans often originated by the splitting of earlier more inclusive units, so that they share the same tradition up to a certain point. Moreover, the fact that any particular clan possesses only one form of a given crest points to the secondary origin of the more special forms of the typical crests; thus, the beaver, "standing beaver," and "beaver eating wood" of various Eagle clans doubtless represent special developments of a common beaver-crest tradition.

On the other hand, if any weight is to be attached to the non-occurrence of characteristic phratric crests in certain clans, there would seem to be very good reason to believe that at least some of these originally stood outside the phratry and were only later, perhaps owing to the stress of some systematizing tendency, included in one of the four main phratries now recognized. In this way would be explained, for instance, why two of the three Nass River *k̄ispo^udwɪ'də* clans recorded have the moon as their main crest (without at the same time owning the killer-whale), while the other has the killer-whale as its main crest (without at the same time owning the moon). Here two originally distinct clans, or groups of clans, one characterized by the killer-whale crest, the other by the moon crest, seem to have become consolidated into a *k̄ispo^udwɪ'də* phratry. Equally instructive examples occur among the Wolf and Eagle families. That, e.g., two of the nine Eagle clans recorded, the *laxtsəme'l'x̄* or Beaver clan of the *k̄it'anwɪ'l'kc* and the *k̄itqane''qs* clan of the same tribe, do not own the eagle, their phratric crest, is best explained by assuming that they originally had nothing to do with the true Eagle clan or phratry, but were only secondarily amalgamated with it. The former of these two exceptional families is, significantly enough, characterized by a name that directly refers to one of its crests, the beaver; the very form

of the name, *laxtsəme'liχ*, is strictly analogous to that of the phratric names *laxk̄ibo'w* (Wolf) and *laxsgi'k'* (Eagle), thus directly suggesting that in the remote past the group characterized by the beaver crest was a distinct social unit quite independent of and parallel to the groups characterized by the wolf and eagle crests. The evidence derived from the family legends would naturally be of the greatest assistance in establishing these and other such reconstructions. One thing seems very clear at present—that the present fourfold (not to speak of a simpler tripartite) arrangement into phratries cannot be forthwith assumed as the historical nucleus from which the present complex clan system, with its irregularities of crest distribution, has arisen.

HOUSE NAMES AMONG THE NASS RIVER INDIANS.

One of the privileges owned by certain families was the use of a distinctive house name, a privilege to which the same term *'ayu'k^us* is applied as to the crest. According to Chief Derrick, by no means every chief house of a clan has such a name. At any rate, he knew of only eight such house names among the Nass River tribes, three of which belong to the *k̄it'anwɛ'l'k̄c*, two to the *k̄itwankc'lk^u*, and three to the *k̄itxalɛⁿ*; the *k̄itgigɛⁿniχ*, according to Chief Derrick, have no ceremonial house names.

Beginning with the *k̄it'anwɛ'l'k̄c*, we find that their old village of *k̄itlaxta^omikc* possessed the following three house names (the new village of *'ä'yä'nc* has naturally no new house names of its own, but simply uses the older names from *k̄itlaxta^omikc*):

1. Of *k̄itsqansna^ot'* clan (Wolf phratry): *wucɛnk̄il-
p̄əlam'älä^o* "fire going through two smoke-holes"
(cf. *'älä^o* "smoke hole"). This house is inhabited
by chief *ni'ⁱc 'yɔq'* "father of (i.e. owner of) (slave
named) *'yɔq'*."
2. Of *k̄itwil'nä^ok̄i^o* clan (Wolf phratry): *willo'a^oml
qɔ^ot* "(house) entrance of which is attended by joy"
(literally, "being-good-therein heart"). This is
Chief Derrick's (*k̄ɛxk^u*) house, recently built at
'ä'yä'nc.

3. Of *laxtsame'l'ix* clan (Eagle phratry): *lpinam w'lp* "whale house." *lpin* "humpbacked whale," it will be remembered, is the main crest of this clan. This house is inhabited by chief *le'eq'* "used up" (this word is used, e.g., of hair falling out of fur or using up of floor planks).

The two house names found among the *kitwankc'lk'* are:

1. Of *laxlo'ukc'* clan (Eagle phratry): *'anlo'lkam w'lp* "Eagle's nest." This house was owned by Chief Derrick's maternal grandfather. It is inhabited by chief *kwi'xma'au* "salmon spearer" (cf. *ma'au* "two-pronged salmon spear").
2. Of *laxl'yr'ql* clan (Wolf phratry): *willoxc 'a'notk'* "drumming all over in the house" (cf. *'a'not* "drum"). This house is inhabited by chief *paxk'ap'k'* "ten eagles on a tree."

The three house names found among the *kitxate'* are:

1. Of *laxlo'ukc'* clan (Eagle phratry): *'anwuc'ndj'q'* "(house) that one gets ashamed in after entering (because it is so long)" (cf. *dj'q'* "to be ashamed"). It is inhabited by chief *kitx'at'*.
2. Of *laxk'ibo'* (Wolf) phratry: *'ange'lcma'x* "where black-bear lies down to sleep." It is inhabited by chief *ne'ic'lic 'ya'n* "father of (slave named) 'ya'n, Excrement."
3. Of *kitspo'dw'ida* phratry: *w'lp'lxaxa'* "sky house." It is inhabited by chief *ne'ic 'yo'ct'* "father of (slave named) 'yo'ct'."

PERSONAL NAMES OF THE *kit'anw'likc'*.

Anything like a complete survey of the men's and women's names characteristic of the different clans of the Nass River Indians was, of course, entirely out of the question under the circumstances. It was necessary to content ourselves with a selection of typical names belonging to the different clans of one of the tribes, the *kit'anw'likc'*. The names of highest rank are kept apart from the more common names. It is believed that at

least some idea is given of the spirit of the very interesting system of naming that obtains among the tribes of Tsimshian stock.

I. Wolf phratry names.

1. *ḵtsq̄ansna't* clan, noblest names:

wə'ci lə'p "stone dish," the noble male name of highest rank in the family.

mɪntkokckum gɪba'yukʷl xcgä'k' "eagle flaps his wings slowly," a prince's name.

ni'ic 'yɔq' "father of (slave named) 'yɔq'," a male name. *ḵtplä'x* "little trout" (cf. *lä'x* "trout"), the noble female name of highest rank in the family.

'axti'bo'x "whale spouts," a princess' name.

More common names are:

hɪs 'no'otks "lying stunned," a man's name.

wi'bänl mäs q̄aya't "big belly of *mäs q̄aya't*, a small salt-water fish" (cf. Tsimshian *q̄aye'it* "bull-head"), a woman's name.

A slave name owned by this clan is:

no'ne, a man's name.

2. *ḵitwil'nä'ḵt'* clan, noblest names:

'axgɪpa'yukʷ "(eagle) remains on a tree, unable to fly," the noble male name of highest rank.

tsasq̄a'x "white wind," a prince's name.

ḵε'εxkʷ, a male name.

ni'kwəl'ltkʷ "(eagle's) head drooping as he rests on a tree," the noble female name of highest rank. It was borne by Chief Derrick's mother.

t'q̄akcto'x wəql tsəm'lɪx "beaver's tail lying on the ground," a princess' name.

More common names are:

xpaɣε'xʷ "people sitting down in a row," a man's name.

q̄wadzaxga'ḵl "mouse passes right through (anus) when swallowed" (cf. *ga'ḵl* "mouse"), a man's name.

nəxc 'e:l "mother of (slave named) 'e:l," a woman's name.

paita "sit in the middle," a woman's name.

3. *kitwillu'ya'x* clan, noblest names:

tcincgiba'yuk "(eagle) flies away (without salmon which he had been eating when sitting down)," the male name of highest rank.

ci:dä'u "(lake frozen over with) new ice," a man's name.

co:dä:l "new lady," the female name of highest rank.

kcimkityo'q, a woman's name.

More common names are:

ti:k "get ashamed (when entering the house and seeing many people)," a man's name.

tel lo'laq "some rotten ones in a box" (cf. *loq* "rotten"), a man's name.

II. Eagle phratry names.

1. *səmlaxsgi'k* clan, noblest names:

qade'ləbəm haya'tsk "anchor for a copper" (cf. *haya'tsk* "ceremonial copper"), the male name of highest rank.

ni'ic kit'kc "father of (slave named) *kit'kc*," a man's name.

nitse'ts qa'l "grandmother of (slave named) *qa'l*," the female name of highest rank.

More common names are:

xtsiyε' "come passing through a strait," a man's name.

nəxc ha'at'k "mother of (slave named) Woodpecker," a woman's name.

2. *laxtsəm:l'x* clan, noblest names:

qaldixma'qt lo'laqtł kibō' "he throws behind corpse of wolf" (cf. *lo'laqt* "corpse"), the male name of highest rank.

qam'nä'het'k "(wolf) stands looking on bank and starts back," a man's name.

lə^εq' "used up," a man's name.

'okcqaice' "grizzly bear's foot," the female name of highest rank.

'nä'mit'mω't'k^u "(wolves) stand whining on bank of river," a woman's name.

More common names are:

q̄wadzaɣkco'o'n "fresh fish (eaten by bear or wolf) passes through quickly," a man's name.

lo'iskum tsəmto'k^u "stinking in the navel" (cf. to'k^u "navel"), a man's name.

caɣaitqa'a'q' "wolf pack comes together and howls," a woman's name.

III. k̄ispo^udwi'də phratry names.

1. k̄isqa'st' clan, noblest names:

wucinɣpe'^ulk^u "dividing copper into ten pieces," the male name of highest rank.

wi'tcɪkna'^oqc "wide bracelet," the female name of highest rank.

More common names are:

ni'ⁱc hai wa'ɣs "father of (slave named) wa'ɣs."

caitkɪlɔ'^o "school of small fish all run out under water when touched by a man," a woman's name.

IV. qana'da phratry noblest names.

tsi'ta'^ut', the male name of highest rank. Its meaning is not known.

qalkcɪtapɣa'^ot' "two (wolves) go together," a man's name.

'axdt'wəllə'ɣɔ'^odə "much property left behind in a box," a man's name.

k^ulɪ'gɔ'^u "(wolf) swims from river across bay," the female name of highest rank.

More common names are:

täli'ⁱck' "socks," a man's name.

qe'tɣk^u "shouting," a man's name.

ya'ak^u, a woman's name.

liɣahatɣe'^o "(wolf) walks along the beach," a woman's name.

Two types of name illustrated in this material are of particular interest. The first is comprised by names like *ni'ic k'it'kc* "father of *k'it'kc*," *noxc ha'at'ku* "mother of Woodpecker," *nitse'ts qa'!* "grandmother of *qa'!*." The second element in such names is generally the name of a slave, while the first element (father, mother, [grandfather], or grandmother) indicates not the relation of kin but that of ownership. The names are purely traditional and do not, of course, necessarily imply that the bearer has or had a slave of the indicated name. That an ancestor may have had a slave of that name, thus accounting for the origin of the full name, is naturally another matter.

Of still greater interest are the names that refer to crests. The chief point to note with regard to these is that such names refer not to a crest of the clan or phratry to which they belong, but to a crest of one of the other three phratries. Thus, several Wolf phratry names refer to the eagle, the main crest of the Eagle phratry (e.g. "Eagle-flaps-his-wings-slowly," "Eagle-remains-on-a-tree-unable-to-fly," "Eagle's-head-droops-as-he-rests-on-a-tree," "Eagle-flies-away-without-salmon"); to the hump-backed whale, also an Eagle crest (e.g. "Whale-spouts"); to the beaver, an Eagle crest (e.g. "Beaver's-tail-lying-on-the-ground"); and to the bullhead,¹ a *qana'da* crest (e.g. "Big-belly-of-white²-bullhead"). Conversely, several Eagle phratry names refer to the wolf, the main crest of the Wolf phratry (e.g. "He-throws-behind-corpse-of-wolf," "Wolf-stands-looking-on-bank-and-starts-back," "Wolves-stand-whining-on-bank-of-river," "Wolf-pack-comes-together-and-howls"); or to the grizzly bear, a Wolf (or possibly *k'ispo'dwi'da*) crest (e.g. "Grizzly-bear's foot"). Some of the *qana'da* names also refer to the wolf (e.g. "Two-wolves-go-together," "Wolf-walks-along-the-beach"). It is important to note that the strict linguistic analysis of the name does not in every case make the reference to the crest animal

¹The bullhead does not occur in my list of Nass River crests. I learn from Mr. C. M. Barbeau, who has recently made an exhaustive study of the social organization of the Tsimshian proper, that the bullhead is a *qanha'da* crest.

²I do not know whether *māc* of this name is to be translated "white" or "red." It means properly "red," but it seems to be regularly translated "white" in crest names, e.g. *māc wa'a* "white deer," *mā'c hā!* "white marten," *māc 'o'!* "white bear." Mr. Barbeau's testimony is corroborative of this curious fact, for he finds *mes-'o'!* translated as "white bear," in spite of Boas' rendering of this term as "red bear."

seem at all necessary. In other words, there is no doubt that the custom of what may be termed cross-phratric naming, once established, led to the habit of reading extra-phratric crest interpretations into names that may have originated quite differently. This type of reinterpretation of names is analogous to other methods of reinterpreting names current among other American tribes, e.g. reading references to clan animals into names belonging to corresponding clans or reading mythological allusions into them. From a linguistic standpoint it is interesting to note that many Nass River names are really sentences consisting of several words, e.g. *qaldix-ma'q-t lo'laqt k'ibo'* "he-throws-behind-corpse-of-wolf," (*qaldix*- local particle "behind the houses"; *maq*- verb stem "to put down, throw"; *-t* third person subjective; *lo'laqt*- "corpse," object of preceding verb; *-l* connective syntactic element, here showing that following noun is genitively related to preceding; *k'ibo'* "wolf"). Such sentence names are full ceremonial forms that undoubtedly appear much abbreviated in ordinary usage. It seems highly probable to me that many, if not all, such names arose from a desire to give a full legendary or crest-referring context to older simpler names (e.g. *qaldixma'qt* "he throws behind") that only implied or were secondarily made to imply such a reference.

When Chief Derrick's attention was called to the cross-phratric character of several of the names, he explained that such names were due to the fact that they were bestowed by the father, who, in a matrilineal society with phratric exogamy, necessarily belonged to a different phratry from his son or daughter. Thus, in a name like *'axgipa'yuk* "Eagle-remains-on-a-tree-unable-to-fly," borne by a Wolf man of the noble class, he stated specifically that the reference was to the crest of his Eagle father. Chief Derrick further connected the giving of a cross-phratric name with the fact that a child is born in a house belonging not to his own phratry, but to that of his father; when still young, however, he was sent away to be brought up at the house of his maternal uncle, where he would live with his family kinsmen. This custom of change of residence early in life finds its exact counterpart among the Haida.

CEREMONIAL DANCES.

One or two incidental facts were obtained in regard to the ceremonial dances of the secret societies, and are here given for what they are worth. Among the ceremonial dances whose performance was regarded as an inheritable privilege are:

1. 'o'lälä', in which the performers practised cannibalism.
2. lo'lim, in which the performers ate dogs.
3. ho'nä'nä'l, in which the performers broke objects with a long club, later paying for the property destroyed with objects of greater value.

Chief Derrick claimed that the 'o'lälä' and lo'lim were the two head dances and that the ho'nä'nä'l was used only by princes. He claimed to have the right to the performance of the lo'lim and ho'nä'nä'l but not to that of the 'o'lälä'.¹

CLASSES OF SOCIETY.

A few scanty notes were obtained on the classes of society formerly recognized among the Nass River Indians. Chief Derrick recognized three main classes:

1. camgigät "nobles, chiefs."
2. wa'a'in "common people."
3. lit'ngit "slaves."

The term lit'ngit is evidently the reduplicated plural of lingit (cf. Tlingit lingit), the Tlingit word for "people." It implies that the main source of the slave class among the Nass River people was constituted by captives taken in war with the Tlingit Indians to the north.

The common people, as well as the nobles, were represented in all four of the phratries or p'te'eq't. They were allowed to show the less important crests in potlatches, but not the main crests.

¹A relatively full account of the secret societies of the Nass River Indians is given by F. Boas in his report on *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (Report of U. S. National Museum for 1895), pp. 651-659.

PHONETIC KEY.

Vowels:

a, like *a* of German *hat*. It often, in fact normally, is slightly palatalized, corresponding to *a* of French *la*.

ā, like *a* of English *hat*.

ɑ, like *u* of English *but*.

e, like *e* of French *été*.

ɛ, like *e* of English *men*.

i, like *i* of French *fini*.

ɪ, like *i* of English *it*.

o, like *o* of English *note*.

ɔ, like *o* of German *voll*.

ω, approximately like *aw* of English *law*. It stands acoustically midway between *a* and *ɔ*.

u, like *ou* of French *bouche*.

ʊ, like *u* of English *full*.

a, *e*, *ɛ*, *i*, *ɔ*, *o*, *u* are weakly articulated forms of *a*, *e*, *ɛ*, *i*, *ɔ*, *o*, and *u* respectively. They generally occur as rearticulations of preceding fuller vowels.

Consonants:

- b*, as in English *be*; softened form of *p*.
- p*, intermediate in articulation, i.e. acoustically midway between English *b* and *p*.
- p'*, surd *p* followed by aspiration; developed from *p*.
- ɸ*, glottalized *p*, i.e. *p* pronounced with simultaneous glottal closure, release of oral closure being earlier than that of glottal closure; between vowels *ɸ* is pronounced with less stress, so as to suggest *b'*.
- m*, as in English.
- 'm*, *m* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.
- w*, as in English *we*.
- 'w*, *w* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.
- d*, as in English *do*; softened form of *t*.
- t*, intermediate in articulation, i.e. acoustically midway between English *d* and *t*.
- t'*, surd *t* followed by aspiration; developed from *t*.
- ɸ*, glottalized *t* (defined similarly to *ɸ*); between vowels it suggests *d'*.
- n*, as in English.
- 'n*, *n* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.
- g*, anterior palatal *g*, approximately as in English *argue* (including *y*-element of *u*); softened form of *k*.
- k*, intermediate in articulation, approximately like *c* of English *excuse* (including *y*-element of *u*).
- k'*, surd *k* followed by aspiration; developed from *k*.
- ɸ*, glottalized *k* (defined similarly to *ɸ*); between vowels it suggests *g'*.
- y*, as in English *yes*.
- 'y*, *y* pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.
- ɣ*, voiceless anterior palatal spirant, like *ch* of German *ich*.
- g*, as in English *gun*; softened form of *k*.
- k*, intermediate in articulation, i.e. acoustically midway between English *g* and *k*.
- k'*, surd *k* followed by aspiration; developed from *k*.
- ɸ*, glottalized *k* (defined similarly to *ɸ*); between vowels it suggests *g'*.
- gw*, *kw*, *k'u*, *k'w*, (*k'u*), labialized forms of *g*, *k*, *k'*, and *k* respectively.
- x*, *x'u*, voiceless spirants corresponding in position to *k'* and *k'u*.
- g*, velar *g*; softened form of *q*.
- q*, intermediate in articulation, i.e. acoustically midway between *g* and surd *q*.
- q'*, surd *q* followed by aspiration; developed from *q*.

\acute{q} , glottalized q (defined similarly to β); between vowels it suggests g' .
 γ , voiced velar spirant corresponding in position to g , from which it is developed.

χ , voiceless velar spirant, approximately like *ch* of German *ach*.

ξw , $q w$, $q' u$, $\acute{q} w$, γw , ξu , labialized forms of g , q , q' , \acute{q} , γ , and χ respectively.

s , as in English *so*.

c , acoustically midway between s and *sh* of English *ship*. s and c are variants of one sound.

dj , approximately j of English *just*, but verging towards *dz*.

ts , tc , approximately like *ts* and *ch* of English *hats* and *child* respectively; variants of one sound.

ts , tc , glottalized forms of *ts* and *tc* respectively (defined similarly to β); variants of one sound.

l , as in English.

l , l pronounced with glottal closure immediately preceding.

l , voiceless spirantal l .

n , l , t , k , weakly articulated forms of n , l , t , and k , occurring in final position.

$'$, glottal closure.

' , breath release.

Diacritical Marks:

' , denotes that preceding vowel is long.

' , indicates that preceding vowel is stressed.